IV. COMPOSITION AND ORIGINS OF THE PRESENT TRIBE

101 The term Tanala means simply "People of the Forest." It is
619 applied to all the inhabitants of a certain stretch of territory irrespective of their origins and political affiliations. There has never been a Tanala tribe, if that term is used in the sense of a socially or politically integrated group.

618 In order to understand the composition of the Tanala, it is necessary to have some knowledge of the native social organization. The various social units are based on a combination of two factors, common descent and common residence. The smallest unit, aside from the individual family, is the lineage, a localized group of relatives who claim descent from a single ancestor in the male line. This unit occupies a certain part of a village and usually holds its lands in common. Lineages which have few children, or which have been decimated by disease or otherwise weakened, pass out of existence. Strong lineages increase steadily in numbers and finally secede from the village and found a village of their own. By imperceptible degrees the lineage becomes a gens, new lineages springing up within it and
618 new villages being founded. Throughout the whole process territorial
631 unity is maintained. A lineage which moves too far away from its parent village soon loses touch and becomes a separate unit. Sometimes the gens remains politically independent and continues to grow and occupy more and more territory until it becomes a tribe. More often, however, the tribal groups are made up of several gentes which have been brought together by conquest, or by alliance against some common enemy. There is usually no strong central control in such a tribe and individuals feel much more closely bound to their gens than to the larger unit. Gentes may belong to different tribes at different periods and a lineage from one gens may secede entirely and go into the territory of another tribe, with which it will, in time, become incorporated.

618 Actually, the composition of the Tanala seems to have been con-
166 stantly changing, various groups entering and leaving the territory, shifting their residence and alliance within it, expanding or contracting and often disappearing. This state of flux was stimulated by the local conditions. The gentes were usually small and were almost always at war with each other. A strong group of invaders could easily displace or conquer the natives, while weak immigrants, who entered peacefully, would be welcomed by any resident group for

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the addition to its man power. These alliances were aided by the common language of the natives and immigrants and by the great number of cultural features which they always had in common. Lastly, the region was never densely inhabited and the rapid, if temporary, exhaustion of the soil through the native methods of agriculture prevented the population from becoming too firmly fixed in one place.

The Tanala always have been, and still are, a more or less accidental agglomeration of groups of diverse origin who have entered the territory at different times. Although all of them have numerous cultural features in common and speak mutually intelligible dialects, they cannot be said to resemble each other more closely than the various units, individually, resemble certain of the units in neighboring tribes. In spite of this, the term Tanala seems to have more than a geographical significance for the natives themselves. They have a rather shadowy sense of unity, which is strongest in the case of gentes living close together. This is reflected in the different attitudes toward Tanala and foreign slaves and in the clear distinction between gentes which are Tanala and those which are not. Any informant can instantly place any gens which he has heard of as being inside or outside the tribe. Moreover, within the tribe there are certain large divisions, not necessarily political units, which are universally recognized. Apparently membership in the tribe is based mainly on length of residence in the territory. Any group which has lived in the region more than three or four generations is counted Tanala.

The Tanala themselves recognize two main divisions of the tribe, the Tanala Menabe, who occupy the northern part of the territory, and the Tanala Ikongo, who occupy the southern part. The Ikongo take their name from Mount Ikongo, about 8 kilometers from Fort Carnot. Sadaro Antoine says:

"Mount Ikongo was the refuge of all the inhabitants of the (southern) forest region in time of war. The top was level and could only be reached by one path, narrow and difficult. It was cultivated, providing food during sieges. This mountain was never conquered by the Imerina. The top was divided into two parts, Ananjamanga on the northeast and Tsiajopapango on the south. On the southwest corner of Ananjamanga, called Mitioka, there was a small, rocky hill where the ancient inhabitants sacrificed an ox to their ancestors for protection and victory before going to battle. This hill was shaped like a cattle tick, *kongo*, and gave the name Ikongo to the mountain."

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619 There seems to have been little or no feeling of unity between
101 these main divisions and I could not learn that they ever assisted each other in war. During the Imerina campaigns against the Ikongo, the Menabe, who had already submitted, remained quiet. Moreover, there were and still are certain cultural differences between the two. The Ikongo were better organized politically, with kings and a caste system like that of the southeast coast tribes. In their material culture they resembled the southeast coast in some respects and the Bara in others. The Menabe had no kings or castes until recent times. The division included one gens of pure plateau culture while the rest resembled the Betsimisaraka in many particulars.

DIVISIONS OF THE IKONGO

(From manuscript of Sadaro Antoine)

114 [That part of the manuscript dealing with the royal gentes and castes has been given in the chapter on Social Organization. Although the account contains much extraneous matter, it has seemed best to quote it in full because of the picture it gives of the constant state of flux in the population and the diverse origin of the various groups.]

619 The Government of Ankarimbelo is divided into two Govern-
618 ments Madinka: 1. Ankarimbelo, with the tribes [localized gentes] Manambondro, Vohitrosy, Vohimana-Sahafina and Marohala. 2. Ambatofisaka, with the tribes Zazanava and Tanalandravy. The whole group is known as Tanala or forest dwellers. All these tribes were independent, with their own chiefs, and were almost constantly at war with each other. Each tribe stayed in its own territory and knew nothing beyond it. [Here follows an account of the various castes and of the origin of the Zafirambo, the royal stock, which has been quoted in the chapter on Social Organization.]

MANAMBONDRO TRIBE.—Before the arrival of the Zafirambo in the Manambondro region it was inhabited by various gentes of different origin: the Sahavana, Antandroka, Ante-Varandrano and Ante-Maronony.

173 The Sahavana had been established in the region for about three
618 hundred years when the Zafirambo arrived. According to traditions they were the aborigines of the region. From the time of Rakonjavo, their ancestor, until that of Rafolo, in the fourth generation after him, they stayed on Mount Sahavana, from which they took their name. Rafolo's son, Ravanambe, married Volavano and had two

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ZAZANAVA TRIBE.—The villages of this tribe are nearly all on the left bank of the Manambondro, with the exception of Ampandramana, which is on the right bank. Before the arrival of the Zafirambo on the Sandramanta, the lower Manambondro was uninhabited. The Zafirambo, anxious to increase their territory, sent two members of their gens to occupy it. These were Andriamasilaza and Fonony, of the Saharamy family, with their children Ravalateza and Rasambohery. They settled at Ambinaninony, at the confluence of the Manambondro and Matitanana. Their descendants took the name Zazanava. The Sahavana, from Tangidy, joined Andriamasilaza and their descendants kept the same name. Several years later, various small families, Tsianary, Tambodiria, Zananfiringa and Sahanary, established themselves successively in the region. They joined with the first arrivals and the descendants of the group are the Zazanava.

TANALANDRAVY TRIBE.—This tribe is made up of small villages scattered in the forest. Its territory is bounded on the east and south by the district of Vohipeno, on the north by the Government of Fort Carnot, and on the west by the territory of the Zazanava. The region was first occupied by the Ante-Tsimatra. Later, these were conquered by the Antanony, Vohibolo and Zafindraony, coming from the upper valley of the Mananjary. The Antanony established themselves at Vohodroy, Ramahalaitra, Ramondo and Mahazomana. The Vohibolo established themselves at Rainilaiahitra and Ramondo. The Zafindraony established themselves at Fainilaimandro. The Ante-Tsimatra were driven to the right bank of the Matitanana.

Later the Zafirambo sent one of their number, Tsirianony, into the Tanalandravy territory. He sought the chief Ramahalaitra and his allies and asked permission to settle in the region. "We will allow you to settle among us," Ramahalaitra said, "but we will not recognize you as king." Tsirianony said: "That is understood. All I ask is that all the cattle you offer to your ancestors shall henceforth have their throats cut by me and my descendants." [The right to kill cattle, *Manom-bily*, is often vested in a single gens in other tribes as well. The killers receive certain parts of the animal in payment.] This was agreed to and Tsirianony settled among them. Later he brought his mother, who belonged to the Ante-Maha gens at Vohipeno, to stay with him. The little families, Ante-Saha, Antambahy and Ante-Omby, also established themselves in the region at this time. The descendants of all these form the Tanalandravy.

This account is certainly incomplete as far as the minor divisions of the various main groups are concerned. I found that my

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619 618 Tanala Menabe informants could give lists of the gentes within their own tribe and of lineages within their gens, but knew little about the composition of other units. In the following tabulation, worked out from the manuscript, the tribes have been given at the extreme left, gentes next and more or less independent sub-gentes next. Undoubtedly some of the latter would be considered gentes by informants from within the next larger division. The Zafirambo, or royal caste, considered themselves a gens, but were distributed through the territory of several tribes.

TANALA IKONGO

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TRIBE	GENS	SUB-GENS
Manambondro	Sahavana	
	Antandroka	
	Ante-Varandrano	Ante-Fenoarivo
		Tsiempodrano
		Sarodry
		Vohijaha
	Ante-Maronony	Ante-Be
		Tsimanovo
		Maintimboho
		Tokanono
Vohitrosy	Zafiraondra	
	Ante-Be	
	Zafindraharaha	
	Vinanimony	
Vohimana-Sahafina	Vohimana	Vohimana
		Zafintsira
		Zafindrafeno
		Hova Vohimana
	Sahafina	
Marohala		
Zazanava	Zazanava	
	Sahanava	
	Tsianary	
	Tambodiria	
	Zananfiringa	
	Sahanary	
Tanalandravy	Ante-Tsimatra	
	Antanony	
	Vohibolo	
	Zafindraony	
	Ante-Omby	
	Ante-Saha	
	Antambahy	

DIVISIONS OF THE MENABE

631 619 The Tanala Menabe, the northern half of the forest dwellers, say that they belong to two main divisions, the Teloarivo Atsimo and the Teloarivo Varitra. The terms mean respectively "The Three Thousand of the South" and "The Three Thousand of the North." The

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various tribes composing the Teloarivo Varitra were never united politically prior to the French conquest. Those of the Teloarivo Atsimo were consolidated under a single rule about one hundred years ago. At this time the Zafiakotry, a gens of the Manandriana, were driven from their territory and appealed to the Imerina king, Andrianampoimerina, for help. He aided them to reinstate themselves and finally, by persuasion rather than force of arms, they became the rulers of the whole division. Their capital was at Ambohimanga du Sud, which was given this name in honor of Ambohimanga, the old Imerina capital. They remained nominal vassals of the Imerina, under light control, until the French conquest.

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TELOARIVO ATSIMO

TRIBE	GENS	SUB-GENS
No name, but a single chief	Temina	
	Tsimanaike	
	Sakaleona	
Mahasila	Mahasila	
No name, but a single chief	Farovory or Maromena	
	Zanakontavy	
	Teroandrika	
Tsahanofa-Tsivoanana	Zafindriantrova	

TELOARIVO VARITRA

Zafindiamanana	Andrianihambana	
	Andriavahoakarivo	
	Andriavahoaka	
	Andrianibiaka	
	Zafiratonona	
	Zafindianony	
Manandriana	Mentymandry	
	Tsahanary	
	Zafimaniry	Sahanjavy
		Ankaromasina
		Fonacmby
		Ankarana
		Ambohimanana
		Zafimaniry
	Zafiakotry	Zanavavy (Royal)
		Betsiratsy
		Zafilambo
		Zafindrasoa (?)
		Panjaro (?)
		Mahalangy (?)
	Manandriana	Zafimaronaka
		Zanakanony
		Marolahy
		Tevato
		Tembatomarina

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619 631 166 The preceding list of Menabe divisions is based on the statements of several different informants. Checks proved that no one of these had an accurate knowledge of the composition of the whole group. Moreover, they usually failed to distinguish between lineage, sub-gens and gens. All of them belonged to the Teloarivo Varitra and knew only the larger divisions of the Teloarivo Atsimo. The list is, therefore, both incomplete and inaccurate, but it is the best which could be gotten under the circumstances.

The Zafindiamanana claim descent from Indriamanana, who entered the northern Tanala territory from the Betsileo country eight generations ago, including the present. He had six daughters, from whom the six divisions of this tribe trace their descent. They found the country almost uninhabited. Later some people of Antaimorona stock entered the region, but were absorbed by them. In recent times the Zafindiamanana were subject to the king of Ambohimanga, who was also king of the Manandriana. They submitted voluntarily, on the advice of Andrianampoimerina, founder of the Imerina empire. Prior to this union they had had no chiefs and no castes, being ruled entirely by their village councils and the heads of the lineages.

The Zafimaniry entered the region from the plateau in still more recent times, being forced out of their territory by war. They found some of their present divisions in the territory and incorporated them. Their culture is still largely of plateau type.

The Zafiakotry and Manandriana proper are of very mixed origin. Some of their sub-gentes claim Arab descent and most of them apparently came in from the east coast. In historic times the Zafiakotry were the noble gens of the Manandriana confederacy. The kingship was vested first in the Zafilambo, later in the Zanavavy.

631 361 The sub-gentes in all the groups were small. The Zanavavy had three villages of approximately fifty houses each, the Betsiratsy, two of eighty houses each, and the Zafilambo, three of fifty houses each.